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THE OBSERVATOR.

Continuation of the Remarks on that part of Her Majesties Speech which relates to Union

From Saturday November the 27th, to Wednesday December the 1st, 1703.

ntry-m. I Have been seriously thinking on your Discourse of Union the last time we met. I have consider'd the Point ry Honestly and Gravely, with due Consideration d without Passion. I protest I can find no Rea- s for any Divisions among Us, but the highest asons to the contrary. I have consider'd (as a an of common Prudence ought to do) all things this respect as they stand in my View (for my otice is not required of things out of my Sphere) d, upon the whole, I cannot find but my Neighbours d my self, and all the Freeholders of the Country, e well enough Minded and Affected to One Ano- er, as also to my Queen, and the Interest of *Eng-nd.* We have never any *Feuds* and *Animosities* mong our selves, but at the time of Electing Mem- ers of Parliament, and then Fomented by Persons ho are neither of Us, nor among Us; and what- er Heats may be raised among us on this Account, e all Pacify'd and over in two or three days after he Election, and we become as good Friends as ever. These are the only Quarrels that happen in the Country; and now we are come to so good a Tem- er, that we hope they will never return more up- n us. We are resolved for the future to Elect none ut such as are in the Interest of *England*, without Respect to Parties; being well assured, that if our Representatives cannot agree in Opinion, the People they Represent can never be safe. But, Pray Sir, whence have the *Feuds* and *Discords* in the Court and City their Original; for *There* seems to be the source of Disunion?

Obs. You have made a very necessary Query, and I don't Care if I spend a little time in giving you an Insight into this Matter. The City of *London* is the same to the Realm of *England*, as the Head is to the Natural Body: If the Head be out of Order, the Members are Influenc'd thereby; and as the Head does direct the Members in their Operations and Actions, for the good of the *Compositum*; so the City of *London*, as it is the Metropolitan Head of the Kingdom, does Influence Inferiour Cities and Corporations in their Offices to the Body Politick. And tho' *Contentions* may seem at this time to be so Strong and Powerful, yet upon Examination you'll find, that even in the City of *London*, we never had a better Disposition to *Peace* and *Union* than at present; for all good Men (who at all times are the support, and will be the Defence of the *Common Wealth*) have so good an Understanding among themselves, that the Armies of *Boutefeus* and *Incendiaries* can make but very weak Assaults upon our Constitution: As these Men are the worst, so are they the least part of the People, not making One Hundredth part of the Nation.

But if these Men are Mounted on the Eminencies of Power and Authority, they make a greater show than Numbers of better Men mixt with Popular Crowds. He that delivers himself thro' a Speaking Trumpet, is farther heard and more taken Notice of, than is the soft and still Voice of Thousands of Moderate and Deserving Worthies. The common People have still a Right of Judging, and can soon determine betwixt Natural and Artificial Policy: And the most Cunning Statesman may be soon Try'd and Sentenc'd by the Common People, when he is brought to the Bar of the *English* Constitution, and his Actions are Compared with the Interest and Liberties of *England*. If we reckon Ministers of *State* as the Physicians for the Body Politick, we shall soon discover by the Physick they Administer, whether they have justly taken their Degrees, and whether the Health of the Body Politick ought to be Committed to their Care. A Physician shows his Skill, when he reduces an Ill Habit of Body to a Good Temperament, bringing the Blood to a due Circulation, the Stomach to a good Digestion, and removes all Impediments that may Obstruct the Operations of Nature. In Epidemical and Inveterate Distempers he's to be admired, when by his *Arcana*'s and *Nostrums* he puts a stop to the Fury of the Disease, at the time when Death had Lodg'd it self on the Counterscarp of Nature, and had just began to Storm the Earthy Citadel; and after having raised the Siege he Repairs the Breaches, which the Distemper has made in the Walls of the Fortress, and puts it again into a Posture of Defence.

In like manner a State Physician has an Opportunity to show his Skill, when he Arrives at the Ministry under the Perplexing Difficulties of Government. When the Body Politick is in a Stinking Condition, and Declining State, when it has many Enemies, many Powers Confederated against it, and but few Allies to Support it, few Ships, shatter'd Forces, a low Exchequer, little Credit, and Labouring under the Clamours of the Common People; then is the time for a Minister to prove himself worthy of the Care of the State: But if when he comes to the Ministry, he finds on the Throne a Prince, whose Heart is truly *English*, who has the Affection, the Prayers and Wishes of the Common-People, who is Engaged in Alliances Offensive and Defensive with the greatest Powers of *Europe*, who has an Exchequer fill'd by the People for making good those Alliances, who has the Empire of the Ocean, and a *Royal Navy* of Good and Defensible Ships able to Maintain that Dominion, who has Armies Abroad, the Honour of their Own, and the Terror of other Countries; I say, under these Circumstances a Minister has an Easie Task; here are no Rocks and Precipices to Climb over, the Ship of State is not Steer'd thro' Swelling Seas, rais'd by Storms and Tempests, but he Walks on Plain and Level Ground, and Sails with Wind and Tide.

But if from this State we find the Body Politick decline, if its Countenance grows Pale and Languid, being Consum'd by Taxes, and it be Fed by the low Diet of Fruitless Cruizers, Encampments, and Entrenchments, without any Cordials, and Restoratives of Action and Conquest: If its thin Carcase be heated into a Feaver by *Intestine Broils* and *Feuds*, without cooling *Julips*, and *Recipes* of *Peace* and *Union*; we have much reason to suspect the Judgment of the Physicians, if not their Honesty and Integrity. Her Majesty, the Chief *Physician* of the *Body Politick* and *Commonwealth* of *England*, has Prescribed

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the Noble *Medicine* of *Union* for our Diſtemper'd State, heated into a Feaver by Senceleſs *Feuds*, and Popular *Animoſities*; and we hope that ſuch as have the Honour to ſerve in Eminent Stations under Her, will employ their Diligence in making it up; and every One of us ought to Contribute towards it, by bringing our *Peace-Offering*, as neceſſary Ingredients in ſo Excellent a Compoſition, that hereby thoſe *Heats*, *Conteſts*, and *Cavils*, which weaken our *Conſtitution*, may be cool'd into an even Temper, and we may be made a fit Subject for the Care of Heaven, and a Pious Queen.

If we nicely Examine our *Diviſions*, we ſhall find them ſo very inconſiderable, that their very *Being* may be Wondred at; and all of them, of what Nature ſoever, have their Source and Original from *Self-Intereſt*. And tho' they ſeem ſo many as to diſturb the *Peace* of the State, yet I ſhall Reduce, and Conſider them under two Heads.

One part of our *Diviſions* are Comprehended in a *Court-Faction*: This Jarring noiſe proceeds from the Struggling and Wreſtling of *Self-Intereſted* and Deſigning Men for the *Miniſtry*, and Places of *Profit* and *Truſt*. A By-Stander would think the Commonalty of *England Mad*, when they ſee them making Parties for Courtiers; who ſhall be *Miniſters*, and who ſhall *Not*, and Judiciouſly determining the matter, which of the *Court-Hounds* has Struggled beſt for the *Bone* of *Preferment*. I have wonder'd to my ſelf, when in the *Coffee-Houſes* at *London*, I have heard the *Citizens* Complaining of *Miſgovernment*, and that it would never be well till ſuch great Men were taken into the *Miniſtry*; as if the Fate of *England* depended on particular Perſons, and not on a due Execution of *Law* and *Juſtice*; when, at the ſame time, they themſelves had ſo ill performed their part in the Publick, as to ſend Members to Parliament, who would not deliver a Petition of the *Merchants*, Complaining of their Loſſes for want of *Convoys*.

Now, where their is a *Party-Government*, one ſort of People muſt of Conſequence be oppreſt; and we have found it true, by dear Experience, that Men have made themſelves Popular, that by the Breath of *Common Fame* they may be Mounted into high Stations: And when the *Wreſtlers* for *Preferment* have trip'd up One Anothers Heels, they have oppreſt the People by Turns; and the Commonalty, who delight to ſee *New Faces*, or *Old Ones* Reſtored, are Satisfyed with the Continuance of Old Grievances, Provided they have but *New Managers*. Theſe Strugglers for Offices ſeem to make a jarring noiſe among themſelves, which is no more than the Claſhing of a pair of *Shears*, which agree well enough to cut the *Plebeian Cloth* to Pieces,

When a Nation Labours under the weight of a general Corruption, 'tis not the changing of Hands, but an alteration of *Methods*, and reſtoring of *Juſtice*, that will Cure the Diſtempers of the State. When the only Buſineſs of Men in Power is to make themſelves great, the *Common-Wealth* muſt grow little; for they are like Yew-Trees, which ſuck all the Fatneſs of the Soil into their own Stocks. Government either Improves or Declines in the Hands of the Managers, and the Common-wealth is Improv'd or Decay'd in every Reign.

There is no Diviſion ſo fatal to a Nation as this Contention for Offices; becauſe a People muſt ſuffer under all Governments, where the Miniſters are not Juſt. And when they are moved to a Purſuit of Honours and Preferments, by the Violence of Ambition, by a Deſire of Empire, or by the *Auri Sacrâ fames*, a *Curſed Hunger after Riches*; they are the ſame the Body Politick, as Vermin to the Natural Bo they will ſoon make it look with a Languid Aſp

Revolutions in the Miniſtry are near a Kin to volutions in Government, which Affect the C mon-Wealth with Convulſive Motions, which time may return to a fix'd State, yet not with a Senſible decay of Strength. Change of Miniſ always makes a Change among the Minds of People, having New Objects of Power; and noth can prove more fatal to a Regulated Governmen is that of *England*: I mean when there is a Change Miniſters that have been accuſtomed to Govern; a when ſuch as have been laid aſide, are again taken A Body would ſoon loſe all its Blood, if when *Leach*, being full, is drop'd from the Veins, anothe immediately clap'd on; and when that is dropp the other, having emptied himſelf, is put in Place. In Caſe of general Corruption, the beſt w to ſecure the *Commonwealth*, is to Build the Miniſ Anew, to lay a Foundation of Management ſuitab to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, which can be ſuppoſ to be done only by ſuch means by which it was firſt founded. And none of the Old Materials ough to be uſed in this Building, when we have ſu Plenty of New Stuff.

But Old Miniſters, that have a long time been accuſtomed Courts, ſecure themſelves in the Affections of Princes by ſ Gloſs on their own Endowments, and Capacity in Managing Publick Affairs; and by *Sycophantry*, and mean *Servile Condeſce tions*, to which Men of Worth can never ſubmit themſelves, the Rivet their Intereſt both with the Prince and People. But ſu as have true Notions of the Intereſt of *England*, without t Reſerves of Profit and Advantage, muſt agree with me, That Miniſtry Compoſed of Men in no Intereſt but that of the Pub lick, is the only means to make *England* Happy, and to qua the *Diviſions* and *Feuds* about Offices; for when two Perſon are Contending for a Place, the only way to Reconcile them is to give the Place to a third Perſon. There are Men enoug in *England*, tho' at preſent in Obſcurity, that are capable o Publick Management; and 'tis obſervable the State of *Rom* never flouriſhed better, than when its *Conſuls* were taken fro among the *Plebeians*.

Religion makes another Diviſion in the State, which is as un reaſonable in it ſelf, and as prejudicial to the Common-weal as the former. And tho' the Religious Parties in *England* diffe as little in Eſſentials as may be; if in any thing at all, yet do they Contend as *Pro Aris & Focis*, for the *Modes* and *Rituals* thereof. Theſe are the *Beaus* of Religion, that Reſpect more the out ward Dreſs and Adornments of the Body, than the inward Beauty and Recitude of Humane Nature; who can Pride themſelves in a fine Head of Hair, which is but an Excrementitious part, when their Bodies are the Synagogue of *Satan*; and yet by theſe Men, who know nothing of the Nature and Serious Practice of Reli gion, are the Populace driven into Religious Frenzies, to the Diſturbance of the State.

Can we believe the Pretenſions to Religion of Men in Power to be ſincere, when they ſhall Diſcountenance *Virtue*, and Encou rage *Vice*? When they ſhall endeavour to lay Hardſhips on their *Proteſtant* Brethren, *Diſſenting* from them in a few *Modes* and *Ceremonies*, and take no Notice of ſuch as *Diſſent* from the very *Doctrines* of the *Chriſtian Religion*? When they contrive Methods to Reſtrain the Worſhip of God in *Conventicles* of *Religious* and *Pious Chriſtians*, and at the ſame time allow a Liberty to the *Play-Houſe*, the *Devils-Chappel*? When they are at a Variance with the Reformed *Proteſtant Churches*, and at an Agreement with *Hell*? Indeed all our *Religious* and *Civil Feuds*, are ſo Abominably Ridiculous in themſelves, that 'tis the greateſt Wonder the *Promoters* of them, are not the *Subjects* of *Common Reproach*, and Hiſs'd off the *Stage* by the *Injur'd Multitude*. I am afraid, Honeſt *Country-man*, I have tired your Patience already, and therefore ſhall leave the Remainder of this Diſcourſe till next time we meet.

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